THE BLACK PANTHER
INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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THE CONSPIRACY TO DESTROY THE B.P.P.



"TURN 'EM LOOSE BRUCE"

BLACK JUDGE BLASTS COURT SYSTEM

For the past 10 years, the Patrolman's Benevolent Association has referred to civil court judge Bruce M. McWright as "Turn 'Em Loose Bruce" because of his policy of no bail or low bail in many cases. As a result of this policy, the 61-year-old Black judge has earned the love and respect of the city's Black and poor population.

Below, is the conclusion of excerpts from a recent interview with McWright by Penthouse *magazine in which the Black judge details his views on the American legal system.*

CONCLUSION

Q: Were you gratified by the advances made in the fifties and sixties in civil rights?

WRIGHT: Yes, there was a time when things looked good. The time when Thurgood Marshall, then an attorney, was God and the nine old men of the Supreme Court of the United States his disciples. They listened to him.

Now it's different. Marshall now sits on that court in splendid and isolated misery, except for Justice Brennan and an occasional agreement by Justice Stewart. It's a Nixon court, another legacy of that man we can't forget. Unlike other traitors such as Benedict Arnold, Nixon continues to be honored by pensions, Secret Service protection, and a California seaside estate improved by tax dollars!

Nixon said, after his first election, that he owed the Negro voters nothing. He then introduced preventive detention to Washington, D.C., to contain what he believed to be Black crime. He said there must be "punishment without pity." Then he made busing a national crime and helped make the banked fires of prejudice flame again.

Against that kind of background, it was easy for White America to conclude that, as some legends say, "the niggers have too much." And so affirmative action came into this world of American prejudice rather like a diseased baby needing artificial respiration but being smothered instead.

Q: You blame the Nixon court for most of this?

WRIGHT: Look at this example. There was a kid named Francis in Louisiana, a few years ago, who was sentenced to the electric chair. They put him in the chair, pulled the switch, but by some mistake ca-

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False Charges Dropped Against Johnny Spain



(Tracy, Calif.) - False charges that Black Panther Party member Johnny Larry Spain "ordered" the murder of a prison inmate were dropped here on March 14 after officials of Deuel Vocational Institution (DVI) failed to produce any evidence linking Johnny to the February 28 killing.

Despite the charges being dropped against him, Johnny remains in isolation at the prison. DVI officials allege that he is being kept in isolation for his safety. Fourteen other Black inmates were also placed in isolation after the February incident. Along with Johnny, they were charged with participating in the violence that led to the prisoner's death.

A former defendant in the San Quentin 6 case, Johnny is presently serving two concurrent life prison terms as the result of being falsely convicted for killing two guards on August 21, 1971, the day BPP Field Marshal George Jackson was assassinated at San Quentin Prison. In May, 1978, Johnny apealed his conviction, and a decision by the state court of appeals was expected in late March. It is widely believed that the appellate court will overturn Johnny's conviction, and that DVI officials sought to frame him for the murder of the inmate to try to keep him in prison for life.

Shortly after he was convicted in August, 1976, in the San Quentin 6 case, Johnny was transferred from San Quentin to DVI due to death threats he received from San Quentin guards who felt he should have been given the death sentence.

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

3RD TRIAL FOR BLACK PRISON ACTIVISTS

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Black prison activists Ernest Graham and Eugene Allen are scheduled to go on trial here March 31 for a third time on the false charges of killing a White prison guard in 1973. The two inmates were convicted in 1976 by an all-White jury. They were sentenced to death under California Penal Code 4500, which calls for a mandatory death sentence for life-term prisoners convicted of assaulting a nonprisoner. In February, 1979, the state supreme court granted Graham and Allen a new trial on the basis that Black people were systematically excluded from the jury that convicted them in 1976.

MIAMI COPS FACE MURDER TRIAL

(Miami, Fla.) - Six former Dade County police officers will go to trial March 31 in Tampa, charged with beating to death Arthur McDuffie, a 33-year-old Black man. McDuffie was killed following a traffic violation and high speed chase by police December 17, 1979. In addition to the upcoming trial, two other police brutality incidents are in the public eye here: a sexual attack on an 11-year-old Black girl by a state trooper, the other the September, 1979, police murder of another Black man. Following the investigation of the McDuffie beating death, some of the ex-police officers have said in sworn statements that they witnessed Alex Marrero using both hands to swing a heavy-duty flashlight on McDuffie's head.

CONVICTION OF BLACK MAN OVERTURNED

(Montgomery, Ala.) - The Alabama Court of Criminal Appeals in mid-March overturned the false rape conviction of a mentally disabled Black man whose case triggered months of racial conflict in north Alabama. The court ruled unanimously that Tommy Lee Hines, who was convicted in 1978 on charges of raping a White Decatur woman and was sentenced to 30 years in prison, was denied a fair trial. The case sparked a series of demonstrations and clashes between Blacks and the Ku Klux Klan when the trial was moved from Decatur to Cullman. In ordering Hines retried, the appellate court said the new trial would be held in Cullman County, but said it should be moved if the trial judge thinks the tense atmosphere has not subsided. The court said Hines was convicted in an "atmosphere infected with racial conflict and tension." Hines' chief attorney, state Senator U.W. Clemon, said he would file a motion to have the trial moved from Cullman County. He also said he would begin immediate efforts to have Hines released from the Bryce State Hospital in Tuscaloosa.

PENN. PRISON GUILTY OF BRUTALITY

(Williamsport, Pa.) - A jury has found that officials at the federal prison in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, inflicted cruel and unusual punishment on three inmates in a 1974 incident involving guards armed with ax handles. But the jury in federal district court refused to impose liability damages against Charles Fenton, Jr., the former warden, or against other officials at the institution. Fenton acknowledged ordering his men to use ax handles to control two busloads of prisoners who had just arrived at the prison. The prisoners said they had been shackled and unable to resist or threaten the guards.

D.C. VOTING RIGHTS BACKED

(Annapolis, Md.) - A proposed constitutional amendment that would give the District of Columbia full representation in Congress won a reprieve recently in the Maryland Legislature. By a vote of 71 to 67, Maryland's lower house reversed its refusal last year to approve a ratification resolution. The District of Columbia now has a single, nonvoting delegate in the House of Representatives, with no representation in the Senate. The proposed amendment, which would give the District two senators and a representative, needs the approval of 38 states.

GEORGIA PRISON ATTACKED

(Atlanta, Ga.) - A special court-appointed federal monitor has filed an official report in federal district court here confirming that since the 1978 rebellion at Reidsville Prison in Georgia, guards have imposed a virtual "reign of terror" against the Black prisoners. Six prisoners—the Reidsville Brothers—faced death penalty trials after the rebellion against intolerable conditions which the court now finds "deplorable." The first two trials resulted in life sentences. Two of the six have not yet gone to trial.



Members of the Philadelphia Chapter of the BPP were forced to strip naked after Philadelphia police and FBI agents raided the chapter office on August 30, 1970. The raid took place a week before the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention Plenary Session, which was held in Philadelphia and was a deliberate effort to sabotage the convention.

1970 F.B.I. MEMO URGED "SPECIAL OPERATION" AGAINST B.P.P.

"RIDICULE, DISCREDIT, PROMOTE FACTIONALISM IN BLACK PANTHER PARTY"

". . .Through this lawsuit we intend to bring an end to a long national nightmare, exposing that the most extreme and violent actions were employed by high government officials against citizens of this nation. . . The full extent of the federal police extermination program against the Black Panther Party will completely horrify many Americans. . ."

—Black Panther Party Statement On Filing Its Lawsuit Against The U.S. Government December 1, 1976

Of the 295 "Black Nationalist" COINTELPRO actions that took place between 1967 and 1971, 233 were directed against the Black Panther Party. As the following 1970 FBI document reveals, the Bureau used its most vicious tactics in the "disruptive-disinformation operation" against the BPP.

5/11/70

SAC, San Francisco

Director, FBI
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AND SPECIAL OPERATIONS [RESEARCH SECTION]

The Bureau would like to offer for your consideration a proposal for a disruptive-disinformation operation targeted against the national office of the Black Panther Party [BPP]. This proposal is not intended to be all inclusive or binding in any of its various phases, but only as a guide for the suggested action. You are encouraged to submit recommendations relating to revisions or innovations of the proposal.

1. The operation would be effectd through close coordination on a high level with the Oakland or San Francisco Police Department.

2. Xerox copies of true documents, documents subtly incorporating false information and entirely fabricated documents would be periodically anonymously mailed to the residence of a key Panther leader. These documents would be on the stationery and in the form used by the police department or by the FBI in disseminating information to the police. FBI documents, when used, would contain police routing or date received notations, clearly indicating they had been pilfered from police files.

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COINTELPRO— "Disrupt, Misdirect, Neutralize" Black Liberation Struggle

". . .the chief investigative branch of the federal government [FBI], which was charged by law with investigating crimes and preventing criminal conduct, itself engaged in lawless tactics and responded to deep-seated social problems by fomenting violence and unrest."

—Final Report Senate Intelligence Committee April 23, 1976

On March 7, 1974, seven xeroxed memoranda detailing FBI plans to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize" Black militant organizations, were released to NBC newsman Carl Stern, who had sued the Justice Department for them under the Freedom of Information Act.

The memoranda, though heavily censored, exposed the Bureau's ruthless Counterintelligence Program to destroy the Black liberation struggle in America. Below, we reprint an August, 1967, memo authorizing the initiation of COINTELPRO actions against Black organizations. Although the memo was written 13 years ago, the activities it calls for are still being carried out today against Black and other Americans who dare to organize for change.

August 25, 1967
PERSONAL ATTENTION
TO ALL OFFICES

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THE U.S. GOVERNMENT MURDERED THESE PEOPLE BECAUSE THEY WERE MEMBERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY





In the next three months the Black Panther Party must raise $[illegible] to pay legal expenses to appeal the Federal District Court's dismissal of the Party's [illegible] lawsuit against the FBI, CIA and other government agents.

"CRIPPLING" OF BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER PLOTTED

"HINDER VICIOUS PROPAGANDA SPREAD BY B.P.P."





BPP members look over soaked BLACK PANTHER newspapers after an arson fire at paper's San Francisco distribution center in January, 1970. SAMUEL NAPIER (far right and standing at left in photo above), the national circulation manager of the paper, was assassinated on April 17, 1971, as part of the COINTELPRO plot to "cripple" the Party's paper.

In May, 1970, FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C., at the direction of then Bureau director, J. Edgar Hoover, ordered its Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami, Newark, New Haven, New York, San Diego and San Francisco field offices to submit proposals for "crippling" THE BLACK PANTHER, newspaper, the official publication of the Black Panther Party.

According to the memo sent out from FBI headquarters across the nation:

"The Black Panther Party newspaper is one of the most effective propaganda operations of the BPP.

"Distribution of this newspaper is increasing at a regular rate thereby influencing a greater number of individuals in the United States along the black extremist lines.

"Each recipient submit by 6/5/70 proposed counterintelligence measures which will hinder the vicious propaganda being spread by the BPP. . .The BPP newspaper. . .is the voice of the BPP and if it could be effectively hindered it would result in helping to cripple the BPP . . . ."

The Senate Intelligence Committee, in its final report issued in April, 1976, contained details of COINTELPRO activities to sabotage THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper. Contained in the report were excerpts from numerous FBI documents. Below, we present some of those excerpts, which point out the U.S. government's illegal efforts to muzzle Black Panther Party views.

. . ."a vigorous inquiry by the Internal Revenue Service to have 'The Black Panther' report their income from the sale of over 100,000 papers each [is recommended]. Perhaps the Bureau through liaison at SOG [seat of government] could suggest such a course of action. It is noted that Internal Revenue Service at San Francisco is receiving copies of Black Panther Party funds and letterhead memoranda.

"It is requested that the Bureau give consideration to discussion with Internal Revenue Service requesting financial records and income tax return for 'The Black Panther.' "

—San Francisco Field Office
May 22, 1970 memorandum

"The Bureau may also wish to consider the utilization of 'Skatol,' which is a chemical agent in powdered form and when applied to a particular surface emits an extremely noxious odor rendering the premises surrounding the point of application uninhabitable. Utilization of such a chemical of course, would be dependent upon whether an entry could be achieved into the area which is utilized for the production of 'The Black Panther.' "

—San Diego Field Office
May 20, 1970 memorandum

This same memo continued to say:

"Another possibility which the Bureau may wish to consider would be the composition and mailing of numerous letters to BPP Headquarters from various points throughout the country on stationary [sic] containing the national emblem of the Minutemen organization. These letters, in several different forms, would all have the common theme of warning the Black Panthers to cease publication or drastic measures would be taken by the Minutemen organization. . . .

"Utilization of the Minutemen organization through direction of informants within that group would also be a very effective measure for the disruption of the publication of this newspaper."

At one time, FBI agents contacted United Airlines officials and inquired about the rates being charged for transporting THE BLACK PANTHER. An FBI memorandum states that the BPP was being charged "the general rate" for printed materials, but that in the future it would be forced to pay the "full legal rate allowable for newspaper shipment."

The memo went on to say:

"Officials advise this increase . . . .means approximately a 40 per cent increase. Officials agree to determine consignor in San Francisco and from this determine consignees throughout the United States so that it can impose full legal tariff. They believe the airlines are due the differences in freight tariffs as

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F.B.I. Director: "B.P.P. Breakfast Program Is A Threat"

One of the earliest and most respected Survival Programs of the Black Panther Party was its Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren Program. At its peak, the Breakfast Program provided hot, nutritious food five days a week for thousands of Black and poor children across the country.

According to a May, 1969, memo sent by J. Edgar Hoover to more than two dozen FBI offices, the Free Breakfast Program *"represents the best and most influential activity going for the BPP and as such is potentially the greatest threat to efforts by authorities to neutralize the BPP and destroy what it stands for."*

Hoover wrote that the Free Breakfast Program: *". . . .has met with some success and has resulted in considerable favorable publicity for the Black Panther Party.*

"The resulting publicity tends to portray the BPP in a favorable light. . .and clouds the violent nature of the group and its ultimate aim of insurrection."

Continuing, the memo said that Free Breakfast Programs *"promote at least tacit support for the BPP among naive individuals, both Black and White, and, what is more distressing, provides the BPP with a ready audience composed of highly impressionable youth of tender age on which to propagate its message of hate and violence."*



BPP Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren Program was a target of FBI sabotage.

So successful was the Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren Program in pointing up the hunger and poverty of Black and poor people amidst the wealth of this country, that the federal government eventually established the National Free Breakfast and Lunch Program as a mandatory service in all public schools.

In one 1969 case documented by the Senate Intelligence Committee, the FBI office in San Diego sent an anonymous letter to the bishop of the San Diego

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THE BLACK PANTHER
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F.B.I. SET UP MURDERS OF L.A. PARTY LEADERS

An FBI document released in December, 1975, by the Senate Intelligence Committee provided conclusive proof that the Bureau actively instigated, provoked and assisted the US organization, led by Ron Karenga, to commit violence against the Black Panther Party in the Los Angeles area in 1968-69.

The document was dated December 2, 1968—just six weeks before BPP Southern California leaders Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins were shot to death by US members at the University of California, Los Angeles campus.

US organization members George and Larry Stiner were later convicted of second-degree murder and conspiracy to commit murder for the killings of Bunchy and John. However, on March 31, 1974, both "escaped" from San Quentin Prison during a family visit.

The Stiner brothers and Claude Hubert, also an US member, have been positively identified by a Black ex-FBI informant as FBI operatives. The informant said that Hubert fired the shots that killed Bunchy and John. Hubert was never brought to trial.

(In December, 1978, Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) officials told *Associated Press* that Hubert may have been in Jonestown, Guyana, when over 900 mostly Black people were murdered by U.S. government agents at the Peoples Temple settlement. The LAPD claimed it had known Hubert was in Guyana since 1976, but that the Guyana government had refused to extradite him.)

Released with the FBI documents were nine, full-page leaflet drawings conceived and executed by the FBI, showing US organization members violently attacking and insulting leaders of the BPP. One leaflet pictures a figure labeled Ron Karenga perusing a list of "Things to do Today." The list contains the names of four leaders of the BPP at that time—John Huggins, Bunchy Carter, Bobby Seale and Walter Wallace. Large checks are placed beside the names of Bunchy and John.

TENSE

After the murders of Bunchy and John, the relationship between the BPP and the US organization grew increasingly tense. In San Diego only a few days after the two BPP members were killed, 14 US members forcibly entered the Party's local office with guns drawn.

On May 19, 1969, the anniversary of Malcolm X's birthday, several US members pulled their guns on a crowd of people attending a rally at Mountain View Park in San Diego. Especially singled out in the crowd for harassment and threats were Party members.

Four days later, on May 23, San Diego Party members John Savage and Jeffrey Jennings were walking toward their office when they met an US member named "Tambozi." As the two BPP members walked by, Tambozi grabbed John by the shoulder, jammed a .38 automatic into the back of his neck and pulled the trigger. John, 24, died instantly.

Less than three months later, on August 15, Sylvester Bell became the fourth BPP member murdered by Karenga's men. Sylvester, 34, was killed in San Diego just after the trial of US organization members for the assassinations of Bunchy and John had begun in Los Angeles. Sylvester's murder was a blatant attempt to intimidate witnesses at the trial.

The murderers of John Savage and Sylvester Bell were never prosecuted.

WELCOMED

The San Diego FBI office welcomed Sylvester's murder and viewed its efforts to promote violence between the BPP and US as a primary factor in his death. In a September 18, 1969, memo to FBI headquarters, the San Diego Field office boasted:

"In view of the recent killing of BPP member Sylvester Bell, a new cartoon is being considered in the hopes that it will assist in the continuance of the rift between BPP and US."

At the time the December, 1968, FBI memo was issued, the Southern California Chapter of the BPP was operating under Executive Order #1, issued as early as May 1968, by Bunchy Carter, who then was Deputy Defense Minister of the Party in Southern California. The order directed all Party members to refrain from "murder-mouthing" other Black organizations "like US and Brother Ron Karenga."

The order went on to say, ". . . we do not get in petty squabbles with other Black organizations. We do not have time for this—when engaging in revolution. . . History will show we have the correct analysis of the problem. . . ."

Excerpts from a 1978 sworn affidavit by "Othello," a Black ex-FBI provocateur who worked in Los Angeles from 1968 to 1975, provide further evidence of the Bureau's efforts to destroy the BPP:

"1. I was a resident of Los Angeles, California, during the years 1968 through 1975, and became an Intelligence Gatherer for the Federal Bureau of Investigation some time during the fall of 1968. As an Intelligence Gatherer, I was to inform on and observe the activities of the Black Panther Party as it operated in the Los Angeles area during all of 1968 and through all and parts of subsequent years up to and including 1975.

"2. I worked with Brandon Cleary who was in charge of Black radicals for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I am informed and believe that Cleary was the superior to William Otto Heaton and Michael Quinn, named below. To my knowledge, Cleary is still active in that capacity with the FBI in Los Angeles.

"3. I also worked with William Otto Heaton, a special agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. To my knowledge, Heaton is no longer with the Bureau in Los Angeles, but, is employed by the Bureau in an area near Los Angeles, possibly Van Nuys.

"4. I also worked with Michael Quinn, a special agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. To my knowledge, Quinn is still a special agent in Los Angeles.

"5. I was paid on a bimonthly basis from some time in 1968 to 1975 in cash by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its agents. I was paid approximately $100 every two weeks for the information I would gather regarding the organizations and individuals, all of the information being requested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. My pay increased over the years of my employment for the FBI. By 1975 I was receiving approximately $2,400 per month. Customarily I would telephone Cleary using the name [deleted] and would arrange to meet in an arbitrary location, a restaurant, bar, street corner, etc.

"6. Very often my work involved the Los Angeles Police Department, specifically, the Criminal Conspiracy Section. I did on several occasions assist Lt. Castretas of the LAPD,

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August, 1968, BPP rally in Los Angeles was attended by JOHN HUGGINS (far left), STOKELY CARMICHAEL (third from left) and ALPRENTICE "Bunchy" CARTER (fourth from left). Messages (below) sent by FBI agent Will Heaton to informant "Othello."

January 15, 1969.

[redacted] make sure on the 17th that you are on UCLA-[illegible] to observe meeting between Panthers & US organization. make sure to call US.

Will Heaton

112.M704. p89
MARC LA

RE. RAID BPP HEADQUARTER SET DEC 8 MAKE SURE [redacted] HAS LAYOUT BY DEC3# SUPERVISOR
679W

BLACK PROVOCATEUR USED KOOL-AID TO DRUG FRED HAMPTON



Illinois BPP leaders FRED HAMPTON and MARK CLARK were assassinated in a joint COINTELPRO/Chicago Police Department operation on December 4, 1969. The mattress on which Fred was sleeping when he was murdered was soaked with his blood.

On April 23, 1979, the 7th Circuit of the U.S. Court of Appeals in Illinois ordered a new trial for 24 law enforcement officials involved in the December 4, 1969, predawn police raid in which Illinois Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were assassinated.

In ordering a new trial, the three-judge panel cited strong evidence of conspiracies by the FBI and the Cook County State's Attorney's office to destroy the Black Panther Party.

Charges against the law enforcement officials, who included FBI agents, Chicago police officers, and former Cook County State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan, were dropped in June 1977. U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Sam Perry, who presided over the 18-month-long civil suit trial brought by the families of Fred and Mark and the seven survivors of the 1969 raid, ordered the charges dismissed after the jury said it was deadlocked on reaching a verdict.

Following Perry's unprecedented ruling, the plaintiffs appealed the case.

Under the dynamic leadership of Fred Hampton, the Illinois Chapter of the BPP was one of the primary targets of the FBI's Counterintelligence Program. During the 1976-77 trial, it was revealed that a Black informant, William O'Neal, had been planted by the FBI as a provocateur in the Chicago BPP.

O'Neal provided the FBI with a detailed floor plan of the Westside Chicago apartment where Fred lived with several other Party members, complete with an "X" over the bed where the Illinois BPP leader was sleeping when he was murdered.

"Othello," code name for a Black ex-FBI informant in southern California who spied on the BPP, said in a 1978 sworn affidavit that an FBI official in Los Angeles told him an informant (O'Neal) placed seco-barbitol sleeping powder in some Kool-Aid Fred drank on the night of his murder.

An autopsy of Fred's body revealed traces of barbiturates.

In an effort to destroy the Illinois Chapter of the BPP, in January, 1969, the FBI composed, hand wrote and sent a letter to the powerful Black gang, the Blackstone Rangers, under the signature, "A Black Brother you don't know." The letter provocatively warned the Rangers that the BPP planned to have the leader of the Chicago-based Rangers, Jeff Fort, killed and urged "retaliatory action" against the BPP.

The letter was sent on the recommendation of the FBI office in Chicago and approved by J. Edgar Hoover in Washington, D.C.

The handwritten letter said the following:

"Brother Jeff: I've spent some time with Panther friends on the west side lately and I know what's been going on. The brothers that run the Panthers blame you for blocking their thing and there's suppose to be a hit out for you. I'm not a Panther or a Ranger, just Black.

"From what I see these Panthers are out for themselves not Black people. I think you ought to know what their [sic] up to, I know what I'd do if I was you. You might hear from me again. A Black Brother you don't know."

The FBI memo stated, "Consideration has been given to a similar letter to the BPP alleging a Ranger plot against the BPP leadership. However, it is not felt this would be productive, principally because the BPP at present is not believed as violence prone as the Rangers to whom violent type activity—shooting and the like—is second nature."

The authorization letter from FBI headquarters notes that "so long as Fort continues as the leader of the Rangers, a working arrangement between the BPP and the Rangers may be effected on Ranger terms. Chicago has recommended the anonymous mailing of the following letter in anticipation that its receipt by Fort will intensify the degree of animosity existing between these two Black extremist organizations. . . ."

A key tactic of COINTELPRO has been to place provocateurs and informants within the Black Panther Party who are directed to commit violence and incite other Party members to commit violence—the goal being to weaken the BPP internally and destroy its public support.

William O'Neal constantly tried to persuade Chicago BPP members to resort to violence. **He constructed an electric chair to be used on alleged "informants," but Fred Hampton ordered the chair dismantled.**

According to the 1976 Senate Intelligence Committee Final Report, **the FBI joined with the Chicago Police Department in February, 1969, to prevent Fred from appearing on a television talk show. The FBI memorandum explaining this incident states:**

" . . . Chicago was aware a warrant for mob action was outstanding for Hampton in his home town and the above information . . . was provided the Maywood Police Department with a suggestion that they request the Chicago Police Department to serve this arrest warrant.

"This was subsequently done with Hampton arrested at television studio in presence of 25 BPP members and studio personnel. This caused considerable embarrassment to the BPP." □



FBI agent provocateur WILLIAM O'NEAL.

Leader Of Attica Rebellion Fights Frame-Up Murder Charges In N.Y.

(New York, N.Y.) - Clarence "Jomo" Davis, a leader of the 1971 Attica prison rebellion, is currently being held without bail at the Brooklyn House of Detention where he is awaiting a third trial on false charges of killing two New York City policemen.

The charges against Davis, who was also falsely indicted for the murder of a companion, arose out of a shootout in Bedford Stuyvesant on April 2, 1978. The first two trials ended in hung juries, with the second jury discharged January 28, 1980, after being deadlocked 8-4 in favor of acquittal.

In late February it was reported that Davis had made an unsuccessful escape attempt from Rikers Island Hospital. The press cited the New York City Department of Corrections as the source of their stories. Corrections Department spokespersons denied having named Davis as a participant in any escape attempt.

Davis has not been incarcerated at Rikers Island Hospital since leaving there in 1978. He had been at the Rikers Island facility recuperating from a second surgical attempt to repair damage to his eye and face which resulted from a brutal beating suffered at the hands of the police officers who arrested him. The beating left him near death with his skull broken in six places.

Davis charged that the false escape story was aimed at discrediting him in the eyes of potential jurors in his upcoming trial.

The story came two weeks after the decision by Kings County District Attorney Eugene Gold to prosecute Davis a third time.

Following the most recent mistrial, Gold's office announced it would decide whether to seek a third trial. The first jury had been deadlocked at 6-6, having found Davis not guilty of related charges. Members of both juries had urged the D.A.'s office not to seek a conviction a third time, as had dozens of individuals and organizations. Many taxpayers complained of the enormous expenditures of public funds involved in continuing the prosecution. Defense estimates of public spending on the case thus far are approximately two million dollars.

The New York Civil Liberties Union, in a letter by its executive director to Gold, had urged:

"It is certainly against the spirit, if not the direct letter, of the Constitution's double jeopardy clause to try a man not only twice, but three times for

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Editorial

STOP THE WAR AGAINST THE B.P.P.

In the 203 years of the history of this country, no American political group has been more consistently, illegally and viciously brutalized by the United States government than the Black Panther Party.

As the FBI documents reprinted in this issue of THE BLACK PANTHER illustrate, high-ranking officials in the government, who had callously decided on a policy of "benign neglect" for the millions of Black and other people in the country, waged a deliberate and bloody war to wipe out the one organization that posed the greatest threat to that policy—the Black Panther Party.

Shortly after Richard Nixon took office in January, 1969, his top aides addressed themselves, in the words of ex-White House counsel John Dean, to "the matter of how we can maximize the fact of our incumbency in dealing with persons known to be active in their opposition to our Administration. Stated a bit more bluntly—how we can use the available federal machinery to screw our political enemies."

A "White House Enemies List" was drawn up by Nixon officials. In its original form, this list contained the names of only two parties or organizations, one of which was the Black Panther Party. To the FBI, CIA, IRS and other federal agencies, the existence and circulation of this "Enemies List" meant the activities they had already begun to destroy the BPP were accepted and approved.

In 1970, a detailed plan, commonly known as the Huston Plan after its designated coordinator in the White House, Tom Charles Huston, was approved by the directors of the FBI, CIA, Defense Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency. This plan spelled out the means by which federal agencies intended to wipe out the Black Panther Party.

One hundred million dollars, the amount for which the Black Panther Party is suing the federal government, cannot bring the 28 Party members who were murdered back to life. The Party's lawsuit, however, is an important step in ending terrorism against "enemies" of the U.S. government. If you are truly committed to stopping the secret war against the Black Panther Party and other organizations and individuals who actively organize against oppression in America, make a financial contribution today to the Party's lawsuit. We must not lose this opportunity to fully expose and prosecute those who have violated the very laws they are sworn to uphold.□

FALLEN COMRADES

Arthur Morris

ASSASSINATED: MARCH, 1968



Comrade Arthur Morris, a member of the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party, was assassinated in March, 1968, in Los Angeles. Arthur, the first BPP member to be murdered, was the brother of Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, founder and leader of the BPP Southern California Chapter, who like Arthur, was killed by police agents nine months later.

"Lil" Bobby Hutton

ASSASSINATED: APRIL 6, 1968



At the age of 14, "Lil" Bobby Hutton was one of the first people to join the BPP after it was founded in 1966. Bobby was one of those arrested in the May 2, 1967, Sacramento, California, legislature protest, which brought national attention to the BPP. Bobby was murdered on April 6, 1968, after being surrounded and attacked by dozens of Oakland police.

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Long Live The Spirits of Arthur Morris and Bobby Hutton!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

MOVIE

REVIEW

"Being There" (Or "How A Gardener Became President")

For a short while after the Old Man dies and the maid, Louise, has packed her things and gone, Chance the gardener remains in the big old town house, alone behind the high brick wall with his well-tended plants and shrubs and with his brightly colored, ever shifting images on television. But then the lawyer comes and tells Chance he must leave.

And so, neatly dressed in the Old Man's finest things, he walks out of the shuttered house in which he has spent his entire conscious life and into the urban blight of modern Washington, and then into the life of Benjamin Rand, husband of Eve and the richest, most powerful businessman in all of America.



PETER SELLERS turns in a great performance in his starring role as Chance, the mindless gardener who becomes the confidant of the superrich and superpowerful in Being There.

How Chance the gardener becomes overnight Chauncey Gardiner, friend of diplomats, confidant of the President, passive lover of the vivacious Eve, is the substance of Hal Ashby's *Being There*, a brilliant and hilarious social/political/sexual satire.

Chance becomes the Rands' houseguest by accident, an accident with the rear bumper of Eve's chauffeur-driven car. Both of the Rands are immediately taken with his reserved good manners, his utter lack of pretense, a directness, a refreshing simplicity—that in fact exactly expresses the simplemindedness beneath.

But it all merely hides a mindless void that nobody seems able to penetrate, because nobody is sufficiently stupid. So, when the President asks Chance his estimate of the current miserable Wall Street "season" and Chance answers that in the garden there are several seasons, but "as long as the roots are not severed, all is well. . ." everyone assumes he is making literary statements about the economy—when, in fact, he is desperately talking about all he knows outside television, which is gardening.

As Chance/Chauncey, Peter Sellers turns in a brilliant performance, which has earned him an Academy Award nomination. Shirley MacLaine as Eve and Melvyn Douglas as the aging, dying superrich, superpowerful capitalist Benjamin Rand, contribute substantially to the success of the film.

Being There is a movie that will make you laugh until your sides hurt. But it has serious moments. Perhaps the most serious comes at the conclusion of the film during Rand's funeral, when his capitalist friends discuss who will become the next President as they carry his casket to its tomb. Their choice?

Don't miss *Being There*.

(Portions of the above article were excerpted from the April issue of *Penthouse* magazine.)□

"MY ASSIGNMENT WAS TO KILL GEORGE JACKSON"

Black Ex-Agent Describes "Nationally Organized Effort To Wipe Out" B.P.P.









Intercommunal News

STATEMENT BY PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

"THE SALVADORIAN PEOPLE ARE IN SEARCH OF THEIR FINAL LIBERATION"





El Salvador peasants were arrested during a battle at a sugar farm in Colima.

Following are excerpts from a statement recently issued by the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) of El Salvador and reprinted from the New York Times.

The Salvadorian people are at present confronting a crucial moment in history, in search of their final liberation. The struggle that is now taking place in our country expresses a people's right to be the author of its own destiny. For this reason, in order to exercise this right, we must not be deterred by the manipulation, the traps and even the direct intervention of American imperialism, declared enemy of a country's right to self-determination and a firm ally of the oppressors of the world.

It is in this general context that our country, El Salvador, has suffered almost half a century of criminal and pitiless repression at the hands of murderous military dictatorships, which have protected the interests of American imperialism and of the Salvadorian oligarch, while keeping our people submerged in a terrible drama of poverty which ranks us among the countries with the highest indices of illiteracy, malnutrition, lack of housing, infant mortality, etc., in the world.

The existence of this situation of permanent oppression has made the Salvadorian people become unyielding in its effort to achieve an alternative which offers real liberty, democracy and self-determination, and to this end has developed its own means, evolving its popular organizations and strengthening its armed revolutionary movement.

The struggle, rapidly accelerating in this most recent stage, has provoked setbacks and superficial changes in government policy, in which American imperialism has been the principal promoter.

It was in this situation that our convulsed nation heard all the fascist talk about "dialogue and free elections" during the Romero era. The failure of this formula gave way to a "coup d'etat" in order to avoid the almost certain international isolation of the dictatorship of General Romero.

This coup, promoted by the Americans, did not signify, nor could it signify, the solution to the problems of our people, since the intent was to impede construction by the people of a true democratic and popular alternative.

The perseverance and combativity of the Salvadorian people in its struggle, and the honesty of the democratic sectors who had naively believed in the viability of structural reforms in our society, made it impossible to consolidate the initial attempt at forming a governing junta, bringing to a noisy conclusion the first American maneuver to this end.

There was no lack of opportunities, fencesitters and reactionaries to offer themselves for a second imperialist maneuver and a second pact, this time between the Christian Democrats and the most reactionary sectors of the military, was achieved.

The basis of this new pact was total acceptance of a demagogic plan of pseudo-reforms combined with cruel repression against the people. But some oligarchic groups and the army, in their voracity and tremendous criminal deformations, have not even accepted this scheme, and are looking for one that doesn't speak at all of reforms, and that uses repression as the only solution to the problems of the country.

The maintenance in power of the Christian Democrats, or whatever other centrist formula, is a result of the need of the most murderous and reactionary sectors of the army not to remain alone in power, because as such they would become isolated on an international level, and that would obstruct the American plans for military, political, and economic intervention, and running the risk of being condemned by all of the democratic governments and nations of the world.

REPRESSION AT PRESENT: 500 DEATHS IN FIVE MONTHS

Not one of the campaigns of repression carried out by the governments of General Romero or General Molina, before the coup of October 15, 1979, can compare with the scope of the one being waged at the present time.

The number of deaths since October 15 has surpassed 500 in less than five months. The persecution and assassination of leaders and militants of popular organizations is a daily occurrence.

Usually, and to some extent, the acts of repression that happen in the city of San Salvador become known internationally, because the international press is able to cover the events there to some degree, as was the case January 22, and February 12 and other days when demonstrators were massacred in the city.

But the repression in rural areas of our country has not been sufficiently publicized. In Aguilares, and in many towns and villages of Chalatenango, Cuscatlan, San Vicente, Usulutan, La Paz, La Union, La Libertad, Sonsonate—that is in almost every part of the country —the permanent effects of a war against every vestige of popular organization are being suffered.

To give a general idea of the effects of the more significant massacres since October 15, in which even the reactionary army has had to officially recognize large numbers of deaths by repression, with the objective of hiding the true figures (which are even higher), the following is a general outline:

—*October 16, 1979.* Repression in Majicanos and Cuscatancingo, more than 35 dead.

—*October 17, 1979.* San Marcos and Bosques del Matazano, more than 40 dead. These two incidents were repressions against uprisings led by the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP BLASTS EL SALVADOR REGIME

(London, England) - Amnesty International recently accused El Salvador's ruling junta of terrorism and said its troops have launched a campaign of murder and kidnapping to wipe out a popular uprising.

The international human rights organization charged that hundreds of peasants have also been massacred by government troops and many more forced to flee their homes in several parts of the Central American nation.

Amnesty noted that the U.S. was giving aid to El Salvador's civilian-military junta and expressed fears that this could lead to further violations of the human rights President Carter had pledged to defend when he entered the White House four years ago.

In a report on El Salvador, Amnesty said its investigations indicated that some 80 persons, including at least 28 children, had been killed in the Cuscatlan region alone since March 9.

In Chalatenango, another region of the Central American nation, Amnesty said it had uncovered evidence of a massacre of peasants committed by government troops. The report charged government troops lit a fire around a village in Chalatenango to prevent its inhabitants from escaping. Then the troops moved through the village, killing about 40 people and abducting many more, an Amnesty spokesperson said.

An Amnesty spokesperson said the organization has asked the State Department about reports that the American aid includes the dispatch of U.S. Army training teams and $7 million worth of military equipment. That sort of aid, if it is used by El Salvador's military police and public order forces, could result in an escalation of government terrorism, the spokesperson said.

CONDEMNS U.S. INTERVENTION

POLISARIO GUERRILLA LEADER DETAILS GAINS IN WAR AGAINST MOROCCAN OCCUPATION

Guerrillas of the Polisario Front in the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (Western Sahara) continue to make great advances in their struggle to end the illegal occupation of their country by the pro-Western regime of Moroccan King Hassan. Following is a recent interview, reprinted from the Tanzania Sunday News, with Sahrawi Foreign Minister Hakim Ibrahim, who discusses the latest developments in the Northwest African country.





Polisario guerrilla (above) on patrol in the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. Sahrawi Foreign Minister HAKIM IBRAHIM (right).

QUESTION: Successive Polisario victories against Moroccan forces sound somewhat like a "David and Goliath" encounter, given the wide gap of sophistication of arms between the Sahrawi Republic and Hassan's kingdom. How do you explain this?

IBRAHIM: Our enemy is in the position of any other colonialist, and every colonialist is bound to fail. The Moroccan army has a large number of soldiers and sophisticated weapons, but lacks one vital weapon—the determination and spirit of sacrifice of the kind possessed by the Polisario fighters.

Secondly, whereas our is a just cause, the Moroccan army is engaged in a nondirectional adventure. That is why the army fails in its attack against Sahrawi people. The Moroccan army has indeed been reduced to a very tiny portion in the Republic. This has correspondingly enabled our forces to penetrate deeper and deeper into Moroccan territory.

Q: Could it be, therfore, that the morale of Moroccan soldiers is low?

IBRAHIM: Moroccan soldiers have progressively weakened in fighting ability because of downfall in morale. In the beginning, Hassan told them it would be merely a "touristic walk" into Sahrawi, which they could capture in a matter of 24 hours.

The soldiers now realize, however, that the Sahrawi are no child's play. They realize that they do not gain anything from the war except death. Furthermore, they realize that not only can we defend ourselves, but we can also penetrate into Moroccan territory as well.

Q: Is the disillusionment confined to soldiers, or does it extend to other sections of Moroccans?

IBRAHIM: There are thousands of orphans in Morocco because their parents have been killed in the war. Soldiers are recruited mainly from lower classes and they—alongside their families—are highly disturbed that while they suffer and die, Hassan sits in his palace giving orders.

There were serious strikes in Morocco recently over high taxation of people's incomes to feed the war machine. The Moroccan people are objectively opposed to the war, for it is as detrimental to their welfare as it is to Sahrawis. They are further frustrated over the fact that it is the children of ordinary people, and not those of the royal family, who die.

Between November, 1978, and October, 1979, over 10,000 Moroccan soldiers were killed (including one colonel and three commanders) and 739 were taken prisoner. This is only for one year. Imagine the plight of children, wives and other dependents of such soldiers over the past five years that the war has been in progress!

Given the opposition of the people and the illegitimacy of his cause, King Hassan faces downfall if he persists with the war.

Q: How do you view King Hassan's communication to Organization of African Unity (OAU) Chairman William Tolbert, in which he (Hassan) labeled as "illegal," a recent OAU resolution demanding the withdrawal of Moroccan troops from Western Sahara?

IBRAHIM: Hassan is afraid of the OAU because he knows that he is a sinner over the Western Sahara question. He has thus adopted a rebellious attitude towards the OAU since enforcement of the organization's resolutions would frustrate his sinful engagements.

But Hassan's attitude does not intimidate Africa, which is resolved on striving for fulfillment of the just cause of the Sahrawi people.

Q: Can the military assistance to Morocco from the U.S. and elsewhere tilt the balance of the struggle to your disadvantage?

IBRAHIM: The decision of the U.S. government to give military assistance to Hassan is very grave as it could eventually lead to the internationalization of the conflict. It is unfortunate that Carter has declined to heed the OAU call for the halting of arms deliveries to Morocco as this complicated the continental body's efforts to resolve the crisis.

Carter's decision engenders, rather than provides for the shortening of, the war. This will not, however, alter the final outcome, for in an anti-colonial struggle, it is the legitimacy of a cause and will of the people rather than the sophistication of weaponry that counts.

An appropriate reference in this respect is the humiliating defeat the U.S. suffered at the hands of Vietnam. The U.S. cannot inject into Moroccan soldiers the qualities of Polisario fighters. If the superpower had this ability, it would have applied it in Vietnam.

Indeed, intensification of U.S. assistance to Morocco has pepped up the Polisario fighting spirit. Take the beginning of this year as a reference. Between January and mid-February, over 400 Moroccan soldiers were killed; 80 soldiers, two pilots and 40 war vehicles were captured. Five planes were downed.

The encounter on January 28, 1980, occurred deep inside Morocco—only about 600 miles from Rabat, the capital.

The Sahrawi people are, however, encouraged by the American people's opposition to their government's assistance to Morocco. Many members of the House of Representatives and the Senate are opposed to Carter's decision.

Q: What diplomatic offensive are you engaged in towards soliciting more support and recognition for your Republic?

IBRAHIM: Our best diplomatic offensive is the consistent gains of Polisario in the battlefield. If we were not making progress in the field, nobody would recognize us.

The problem we are experiencing right now is securing membership to international organizations.

Next July, Sahrawi will become an OAU memberstate, since Africa has become convinced that we have liberated much of our land.

World Scope

BLACK BRITISH EDITOR ON TRIAL

(London, England) - Darcus Howe, the editor of *Race Today*, faces two court cases in March. Both cases are a result of his intervention to defend the activities of *Race Today* and *Bradford Black*, two Black groups he helped form. Both produce journals on the struggle of Blacks in Britain, India, Pakistan and the Caribbean. The attempts of the British authorities to silence and imprison Howe date back to 1971. On five occasions since then there have been attempts to imprison him, using criminal charges to discredit his political stand. On four occasions he has been acquitted. In 1978, a three-month sentence was improposed on Howe fordefending himself against a racist attack.

MAO'S WIFE ATTACKED

(Beiping, China) - China, for the first time, in mid-Marchaccused Chairman Mao Tse-tung's wife of engineering the downfall of the late President Liu Shaoqi, calling it the biggest "frameup" in Chinese Communist Party history. The official *Xinhua News Agency* said a commission that investigated the Liu case for a year concluded that the "frameup" was engineered by Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, and four radical colleagues. *Xinhua* identified the others as Chen Boda, a close aide of Mao and leaderof the Cultural Revolution; former Defense Minister Lin Biao, former Party Vice Chairman Zhang Chunqiao, and Kang Sheng, referred to in the media as "that adviser." Kang was an adviser to the 1966-76 Cultural Revolution and a long-time supporter of Mao.

C.I.A. IN AFGHANISTAN

(Washington, D.C.) - The CIA began a program of armed intervention in Afghanistan at least one year before Soviet troops ever entered that nation, it was charged in February by a prominent Washington magazine that specializes in information on the spy organization.

To back up its charges, *Counter Spy* published names of prominent CIA operatives involved in the armed activities. *Counter Spy* has itself made national news over the past years for its articles which have reliably named prominent CIA operatives in various nations around the world.

Konrad Ege, an editor of the magazine, told the *People's World* that his research shows that for well over a year a special CIA task force under the command of CIA agent Robert P. Lessard has conducted destabilizing activities against Afghanistan, using the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, as its headquarters.

Ege charged that "it is important to note that these CIA operations were in support of Afghans violently opposing progressive improvement for their fellow citizens, such as needed land reform and equality for women."

He charged that Lessard was a CIA undercover agent in Iran for 10 years, an exceptionally long period during which the CIA tutored SAVAK, the Shah's secret police, in torture techniques and other methods of mass terror.

Lessard, Ege continued, also was assigned to the U.S. Embassy in Kabul, Afghanistan, before the April, 1968, revolution. Lessard has been assigned to Pakistan since July, 1977.

Other CIA officers in Pakistan include John J. Reagan, David E. Thurman (both in Islamabad) and Richard D. Jackman (in Karachi).

Ege's article also charges that the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency has a team working in Pakistan. Ege pointed out that the DEA "has rarely limited itself to 'pure' prosecution of drug traffickers."

Ege referred to a recent article in the Canadian magazine *McCleans* that Afghan rebels have been purchasing arms from the U.S. with massive deliveries of heroin.

U.S. ARMS IN ISRAEL

(Beirut, Lebanon) - Israel is using advanced U.S.-supplied weapons against Palestinian guerrillas within Lebanon, in possible violation of American law, according to knowledgeable sources. The U.S. arms, which under terms of their transfer to Israel are limited to defensive use, have been spotted a half-dozen times by international observers inside Lebanese territory in recent months, despite a controversy generated last August by similar usage, Arab and Western sources said.



MASSIVE WAR DAMAGE IN ZIMBABWE

(Tsiga Township, Rhodesia) - "Tsiga Township" — once a busy trade center northeast of the Rhodesian capital city of Salisbury — today is a deserted patch of mud, charred timber and twisted metal. It was destroyed during the 14-year-long guerrilla war here that reduced thousands of Blacks from self-sufficient peasant farmers to refugees within the country of their birth.

Now that the war is over, Rhodesia — soon to be known as Zimbabwe — will need substantial help in rebuilding, say relief agency officials here. According to the Salvation Army: 85,000 people have lost their homes; 10,000 have been disabled during the fighting; 100,000 have lost jobs due to the war; half the country's rural mission hospitals and clinics are closed.

These figures come on top of the estimated 20,000 killed during the war years, out of a Rhodesian population of 6.65 million. Experts warn that unless longterm aid is committed to rebuilding Zimbabwe, it may take decades to recover from the ravages of the war.

A six-member British parliamentary delegation here to observe the recent elections concluded that "alone Zimbabwe cannot begin to bear the heavy costs of resettling, creating essential social services, providing low-cost housing and major irrigation schemes." The group noted that the country's aid needs "may well exceed" a 1977 estimate of $1.5 billion.

But one government official wonders, "What aid is going to be available? Even now, the aid agencies are not very quick about coming forward."

Some countries — such as the U.S. — have no foreign aid allocation for Rhodesia. To coordinate the nation's aid programs, Robert Mugabe, the prime minister-elect, plans to create a Ministry of Economic Planning and Development. He has asked United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to allow a U.N. development specialist — widely thought to be Dr. Bernard Chidzero — to assume the post.

U.S. PUBLISHER MUST REVEAL TIES TO S. AFRICA

(Washington, D.C.) - Publisher John P. McGoff must immediately turn over to federal investigators all records concerning his dealings with the South African government and his efforts to purchase the *Washington Star* and *Sacramento Union* newspapers, the Supreme Court ruled in mid-March.

The court rejected a last-ditch effort by McGoff to avoid complying with the Securities and Exchange Commission subpoenas for his business records. The SEC says it is trying to find out whether McGoff violated federal securities laws by using South African government funds to purchase interests in American newspapers.

A South African judicial commission reported last year that McGoff, an American, was provided with more than $11.5 million from a secret South African propaganda fund during an unsuccessful 1974 attempt to purchase the *Star*, Washington's only afternoon paper. When that deal fell through, the commission said, McGoff used more than $5 million of the money to buy the *Union*.

McGoff is the founder and a principal shareholder of Panax Corp., a publicly registered company that publishes 65 daily and weekly newspapers in seven states. He is also the sole owner of Global Communications Corp., a private firm that is the parent company of the *Union*.

The SEC subpoenas issued last year seek all available information regarding McGoff's contacts with the Republic of South Africa, his proposed acquisition of the *Star*, and his contacts with banking institutions. They also seek books and records relating to Global Communications and the Sacramento publishing operations.

Last year, U.S. District Judge Gerhard A. Gesell narrowed the scope of the subpoenas somewhat by holding that McGoff did not have to disclose any documents "which solely relate to editorial policy or solely relate to information obtained as part of the process of gathering news." Gesell held, however, that McGoff must turn over the data regarding his business dealings.

McGoff asked first a federal appeals court and then the U.S. Supreme Court to stay the effect of Gesell's ruling and to block the SEC subpoenas. Both courts rejected the requests.

COINTELPRO—"Disrupt, Misdirect, Neutralize" Black Liberation Struggle

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
INTERNAL SECURITY

Offices receiving copies of this letter are instructed to immediately establish a control file, captioned as above, and to assign responsibility for following and coordinating this new counterintelligence program to an experienced and imaginative Special Agent well versed in investigations relating to Black nationalist, hate-type organizations. The field office control file used under this program may be maintained in a pending inactive status until such time as a specific operation or technique is placed under consideration for implementation.

The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of Black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder. The activities of all such groups of intelligence interest to this Bureau must be followed on a continuous basis so we will be in a position to promptly take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and to inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant.

The pernicious background of such groups, their duplicity, and devious maneuvers must be exposed to public scrutiny where such publicity will have a neutralizing effect. Efforts of the various groups to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents must be frustrated. No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing Black nationalist organizations.

When an opportunity is apparent to disrupt or neutralize Black nationalist, hate-type organizations through the cooperation of established local news media contacts or through such contact with sources available to the Seat of Government, in every instance careful attention must be given to the proposal to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited through the publicity and not merely publicized. Consideration should be given to techniques to preclude violence-prone or rabble-rouser leaders of hate groups from spreading their philosophy publicly or through various mass communication media.

Many individuals currently active in Black nationalist organizations have backgrounds of immorality, subversive activity, and criminal records. Through your investigation of key agitators, you should endeavor to establish their unsavory backgrounds. Be alert to determine evidence of misappropriation of funds or other types of personal misconduct on the part of militant nationalist leaders so any practical or warranted counterintelligence may be instituted.

Intensified attention under this program should be afforded to the activities of such groups as [censored]. Particular emphasis should be given to extremists who direct the activities and policies of revolutionary or militant groups such as [censored].

At this time the Bureau is setting up no requirement for status letters to be periodically submitted under this program. It will be incumbent upon you to insure the program is being afforded necessary and continuing attention and that no opportunities will be overlooked for counterintelligence action.

This program should not be confused with the program entitled "Communist Party, USA Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security - C," [censored] which is directed against the Communist Party and related organizations, or the programs entitled "Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security, Disruption of Hate Groups," [censored], which is directed against Klan and hate-type groups primarily consisting of White memberships.

All Special Agent personnel responsible for the investigation of Black nationalist hate-type organizations and their memberships should be alerted to our counterintelligence interest and each investigative Agent has a responsibility to call to the attention of the counterintelligence coordinator suggestions and possibilities for implementing the program.

You are also cautioned that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded to sensitive operations and techniques considered under the program.

No counterintelligence action under this program may be initiated by the field without specific prior Bureau authorization.

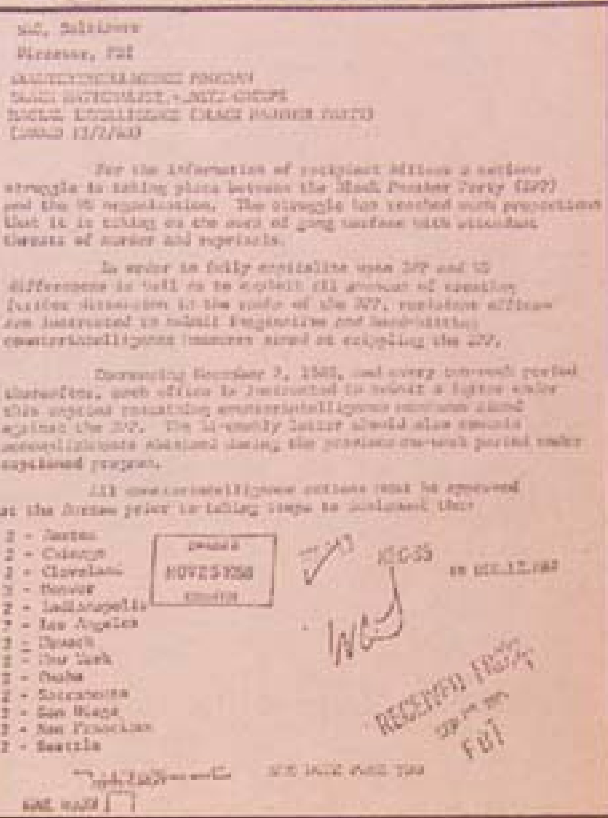
You are urged to take an enthusiastic and imaginative approach to this new counterintelligence endeavor and the Bureau will be pleased to entertain any suggestions or techniques you may recommend.

3/4/68

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI

1968 FBI memo called for plans to "fully capitalize upon BPP and US (organization) differences.



COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Title is changed to substitute Racial Intelligence for Internal Security for Bureau routing purposes.
[Section covered over.]

BACKGROUND

By letter dated 8/25/67 the following offices were advised of the beginning of a Counterintelligence Program against militant Black Nationalist-Hate Groups:

[Section covered over.]

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the COALITION of militant Black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of Black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true Black revolution.

2. Prevent the RISE OF A "MESSIAH" who could unify, and electrify, the militant Black nationalist movement. [Censored] might have been such a "Messiah"; he is the martyr of the movement today. [Censored] is less of a threat because of his age. [Censored] could be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" [nonviolence] and embrace Black nationalism. [Censored] has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent VIOLENCE on the part of Black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

4. Prevent militant Black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining RESPECTABILITY, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community. The goal of discrediting Black nationalists must be handled tactically in three ways.

You must discredit these groups and individuals to, first, the responsible Negro community. Second, they must be discredited to the White community, both the responsible community and to "liberals" who have vestiges of sympathy for militant Black nationalists simply because they are Negroes. Third, these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movement. This last area requires entirely different tactics from the first two. Publicity about violent tendencies and radical statements merely enhances Black nationalists to last group; it adds "respectability" in a different way.

5. A final goal should be to prevent long-range GROWTH of militant Black nationalist organizations, especially among youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed. □

Murders of L.A. Party Leaders

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Criminal Conspiracy Section and the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States government. I am informed and believe that he is the primary connection between the CIA and the Los Angeles Police Department.

"7. I met with the above named employees of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, namely Cleary, Heaton and Quinn, on the street, in automobiles, and at the Wilshire Boulevard office (known as the V.A. Center in Westwood) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on the 14th floor, during this period of time, and spoke with them on the telephone.

"8. Through information and belief, I have knowledge that William O'Neal lied in his sworn deposition dated January 12, 1974, and in his testimony in the ensuing civil case involving the death on December 4, 1969, of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark of the Black Panther Party in Chicago, Illinois. Brandon Cleary told me that the same William O'Neal had administered the seco-barbitol sleeping powder by placing it in some kool-aid he knew Fred Hampton was about to drink. The seco-barbitol had been given to him by his supervising agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"9. I participated in getting the layout of the Black Panther office in Los Angeles, located at 4115½ Central Avenue, plus the simultaneous raids on three to four apartments. These raids occurred on December 8, 1969, and the events resulted in the trial known as the 'L.A. 18' trial. It was my work and the work of known informant Melvin 'Cotton' Smith which caused the raids to happen."□

"Hinder Vicious Propaganda Spread By B.P.P."

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

noted above for past six to eight months, and are considering discussions with their legal staff concerning suit for recovery of deficit . . . They estimate that in New York alone will exceed ten thousand dollars."

—New York Field Office
October 11, 1969 memorandum

Bureau headquarters at one time ordered 39 field offices to distribute copies of a column written by Victor Riesel, a labor columnist, urging a nationwide union boycott against handling THE BLACK PANTHER:

"Enclosed for each office are 50 reproductions of a column written by Victor Riesel regarding the Black Panther Party.

"Portions of the column deal with proposal that union members refuse to handle shipments of BPP newspapers. Obviously if such a boycott gains national support it will result in effectively cutting off BPP propaganda and finances, therefore, it is most desirable this proposal be brought to attention of members and officials of unions such as Teamsters and others involved in handling of shipments of BPP newspapers.



BLACK PANTHER newspapers destroyed in 1970 arson fire.

"Each office anonymously mail copies of enclosed to officials of appropriate unions, police organizations or other individuals within its territory who could encourage such a boycott. . . .

"Be alert for any other opportunities to further exploit this proposal."

—FBI Headquarters
November 10, 1970 memorandum

On one occasion the Bureau's Racial Intelligence Section concocted a plot to create friction between the BPP and the Nation of Islam by reducing sales of the Nation's newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks*:

"While both papers advocate white hate, a noticeable loss of revenue to NOI to decreased sales of their paper caused by the BPP might well be the spark to ignite the fuel of conflict between the two organizations. Both are extremely money conscious.

"'We feel that our network of racial informants, many of whom are directly involved in the sale of the NOI and BPP newspapers, are in a position to cause a material reduction in NOI newspaper sales. Our sources can bring the fact of revenue loss directly to NOI leader Elijah Muhammad, who might well be influenced to take positive steps to counteract the sale of BPP papers in the Negro community. We feel that with careful planning and close supervision an open dispute can be developed between the two organizations."

—June 26, 1970 memorandum
from G.C. Moore to
W.C. Sullivan□

"Ridicule, Discredit, Promote Factionalism"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

3. An attempt would be made to give the Panther recipient the impression the documents were stolen from police files by a disgruntled police employee sympathetic to the Panthers. After initial mailings, brief notes by the alleged disgruntled employee would be included with the mailed documents. These notes would indicate the motive and sympathy of the police employee, his bitterness against his department and possibly a request for money.

4. Depending on developments, at a propitious time, consideration would be given to establishing a post office box or other suitable "drop" address for the use of the alleged disgruntled employee to receive responses, funds, and/or specifications relating to the documents from the Panthers.

5. Although the operation may not require inclusion of a live source to represent the disgruntled employee, circumstances might warrant the use of such a source for face-to-face meetings with the Panthers. During early stages of the operation, an effort should be made to locate and brief a suitable police employee to play the role of the alleged disgruntled employee.

6. A wide variety of alleged authentic police or FBI material could be carefully selected or prepared for furnishing to the Panthers. Reports, blind memoranda, LHMs, and other alleged police or FBI documents could be prepared pinpointing Panthers as police or FBI informants; ridiculing or discrediting Panther leaders through their ineptness or personal escapades; espousing personal philosophies and promoting factionalism among BPP members; indicating electronic coverage where none exists; outlining fictitious plans for police raids or other counteractions; revealing misuse or misappropriation of Panther funds; pointing out instances of political disorientation; etc. The nature of the disruptive material and disinformation "leaked" would only be limited by the collection ability of your sources and the need to insure the protection of their security.

Effective implementation of this proposal logically could not help but disrupt and confuse Panther activities. Even if they were to suspect FBI or police involvement, they would be unable to ignore factual material brought to their attention through this channel. The operation would afford us a continuing means to furnish the Panther leadership true information which is to our interest that they know and disinformation which, in their interest, they may not ignore.

Although this proposal is a relatively simple technique, it has been applied with exceptional results in another area of intelligence interest where the target was of far greater sophistication. The Bureau believes with careful planning this technique has excellent long-range potential to disrupt and curtail Panther activity.

San Francisco is requested to submit comments and/or recommendations relating to the implementation of this proposal.

Copies of this letter have been designated for Los Angeles for background and information purposes. Any suggestion Los Angeles may have for strengthening or further implementing the technique will be appreciated.□

"Breakfast Program Is A Threat"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

Catholic Diocese informing him that a priest, Father Frank Curran, was allowing his San Diego church to be used as a site for the Breakfast Program.

The Bureau's San Diego office also requested permission from FBI headquarters in August, 1969, to place three telephone calls protesting Curran's support of the Breakfast Program to the auxiliary bishop of the San Diego Diocese.

"All of the above calls will be made from 'parishioners' objecting to the use of their church to assist a black militant cause. Two of the callers will urge that Father Curran be removed as Pastor of the church, and one will threaten suspension of financial support of the church if the activities of the Pastor are allowed to continue.

"Fictitious names will be utilized in the event a name is requested by the Bishop. It is felt that complaints, if they do not effect the removal of Father Curran . . . will at least result in Father Curran becoming aware that his Bishop is cognizant of his activities and will thus result in a curtailment of these activities."

After FBI agents in San Diego received permission and placed the calls, they reported: *"The Bishop appeared to be . . . quite concerned over the fact that one of his priests was deeply involved in utilization of church facilities for this purpose."*

A month later, the San Diego office reported that Curran had been transferred from San Diego to *"somewhere in the state of New Mexico for permanent assignment. In view of the above, it would appear that Father Curran has now been completely neutralized . . ."*□

Salvadorian People In Search of Liberation

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) and the Popular Leagues of the 28th of February (LP-28).

October 29, 1979. Repression of a demonstration of LP-28, 75 dead, 21 of whom had to be buried inside the El Rosario Church in San Salvador because the army surrounding the church constituted a threat of a further massacre to the burial procession.

—*October 31, 1979.* Massacre of a demonstration of the Populare Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), 20 dead.

—*December 12, 1979.* In Berlin, a department of Usulutan, the evacuation of a hacienda occupied by LP-28, five dead.

—*December 15, 1979.* Disoccupation of the hacienda "El Porvenir," occupied by LP-28, 100 dead. In this incident eyewitnesses saw American soldiers taking part in the operation.

—*January 22, 1980.* A demonstration of unity (BPR, LP-28, UDN, MLP and FAPU) is repressed, more than 40 dead.

—*February 12, 1980.* The local of the Christian Democratic Party, occupied by LP-28, is disoccupied, and a demonstration of the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR) is repressed. These two incidents result in more than 25 dead.

In the same month of February, three churches occupied by FAPU, in Ilobasco, San Miguel and Santa Rosa de Lima, were disoccupied, resulting in more than 15 dead, executed in the inner court of the churches after having been captured alive.

And one last occurrence, to mention the most recent: on February 25, 1980, in Santo Domingo de Guzman in Sonsonate, where the official version claims that our organization, ERP, suffered 15 deaths in a supposed confrontation.

The truth of the matter is that there was a military operation in which all the houses of the town were searched. Combatants of our forces resisted capture and did combat between 4:30 a.m. and 11 a.m., causing innumerable casualties among the National Guard and the army (deaths which are not officially acknowledged).

As for the forces of the ERP only two deaths were recorded among the combatants, and our forces were able to retreat with no wounded. The majority of dead were citizens and militants of the LP-28 who were unarmed and who were dragged out of their houses and shot, some of them with their families.

In all of these incidents, hundreds of people have disappeared, captured by the security forces.

TO BE CONTINUED

Black Judge Blasts Court System

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

ly a few hundred volts went through him. It seared him. It didn't kill him. They put him in the infirmary to heal him so they could bring him back and do the job right.

His lawyer got a writ of habeas corpus. It went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, and the court said, in its wisdom, that he was condemned to die and that he hadn't died, so they should do it again. And they did it! Strapped him in that chair for the second time and killed him.

His lawyers argued that this was a violation of the Eighth Amendment's prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment. The court said no—that wasn't cruel, that wasn't unusual. But that's a typical Nixon Court decision.

The reason for so many of the riots and dissatisfactions in the jails in New York is that they are so full of Blacks and Puerto Ricans who have not been convicted and are simply awaiting trial. They are there because some judge has presumed them guilty and they cannot afford bail.

Yet the U.S. Supreme Court, led by Justice William Rehnquist, recently ruled that this was okay! It said that there is no presumption of innocence while you are in jail awaiting trial and that the presumption only starts when you actually go on trial. That's why Thurgood Marshall is so angry and speaking out about it.

I think the criminal justice system has been a secret society for too long. And somebody should speak out about it, because if we don't, it will remain a secret society and get progressively more secret.

A congressional committee made a study a few years ago about prisons in America and said that if more people knew about what went on in prisons, there would be an outcry of rage against these conditions. So let's not have any secrets in the judiciary, either.

Q: When you were offered a judgeship by then Mayor John Lindsay in 1970, how did you react?

WRIGHT: I said, "I don't have the money to buy a judgeship." And Lindsay said, "You don't need any money."

Q: Do most judges get appointed that way?

WRIGHT: Sir! Are you suggesting that there are judges who have *paid* for their judgeships?

Q: The going rate in New York City is supposed to be about $42,000.

WRIGHT: Let me tell you a story. When Judge James Watson was on the bench, I was sort of his protege. One night we were in his study, going over some papers, when a dele-



Judge BRUCE M. McWRIGHT (left).

gation from Tammany Hall walked in.

They looked at me, suspiciously, and then retreated with the judge to the next room. I heard voices. Loud and soft.

The judge came back, tears in his eyes. He went to the scotch bottle. He said, "You know, Bruce, Mayor O'Dwyer says it is now time to have the first Black Supreme Court justice in New York. And they've selected me."

I assumed his tears were tears of joy. But then he said, "But I don't have a $100,000. I've had to educate my four children. I haven't even paid the mortgage on my house yet."

Later he told me that when O'Dwyer was told that Judge Watson didn't have the money, he said, "Give it to X,", who was then a state assemblyman. When O'Dwyer was told that the assemblyman didn't have the money either, O'Dwyer said, "Give it to him, anyway. At least he's a Catholic."

I would say that, traditionally, Black lawyers haven't had easy access to $100,000, which may be one reason there's such a scarcity of Black Supreme Court justices.

Q: What about the Symbionese Liberation Army?

WRIGHT: Oh, those people weren't radical. They were demented. That group had no right to the term radical.

Now the Puerto Ricans are true radicals. They tried to kill Truman. They fired into the House of Representatives and wounded several congressmen.

The Blacks have never done anything like that. If we were really radical, we would blow up the Washington Monument. Washington was a *slave* owner! How could he be called the father of our country, by adoption or otherwise? We'd blow up Thomas Jefferson's monument, too. He owned slaves, too!

Q: Isn't it part of your thesis that Blacks are hopelessly fragmented into opposing groups?

WRIGHT: Yes. I'm not so sure that this country is not set on a course that will one day, sooner or later, return the Black man to slavery.

Q: Do you mean a literal return to slavery?

WRIGHT: Yes, I honestly do. Just as the Jews fear a reprise of the Holocaust.

Let me tell you a story. I was at a party at Bob Patterson's house not so long ago. Bob's dad was the secretary of war under Truman. I was engaged in a conversation with a retired Columbia professor when, to my astonishment, a man I later discovered to be a partner in the law firm of Lord, Day, and Lord interrupted. I never knew his name.

He looked at me and said, "If we ever have slavery again, I'd like to own you."

The gentleman was not kidding. There was no smile on his face, no twinkle in his eye as he regarded me. He *meant* it. His martinis had become truth serum. □

Attica Leader Fights Frame-Up

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

the same crime. In the past nine months, Mr. Davis has been through two trials, lasting a total of 23 weeks, and the prosecution has so far failed to convince even a majority of jurors of his guilt. In fact, according to jurors' accounts, 14 out of 24 jurors have voted acquittal."

Nonetheless, the D.A., under pressure from the police and Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, indicated they would be ready for another retrial by March 24.

In the interim, defense attorney Robert Bloom will file papers in the Appellate Division asking that a third trial be prohibited on the basis of constitutional guarantees of due process and fundamental fairness and the Fifth Amendment's double jeopardy clause. Defense lawyers will also argue that the contradictory evidence presented by the prosecutor forces the conclusion that not only is there reasonable doubt as to Davis' guilt, but there is overwhelming proof of his innocence.

Judge Edward Lentol, who presided at the second trial, illegally prevented the defense from presenting to the jury much of this evidence, including a tape of the police radio broadcast immediately after the incident. In this tape, the shooter had been described to the police by the witnesses as a small Hispanic male, about five and a half feet tall. Davis is over six feet tall and a powerfully built Black man.

In the late '60's and early '70's, Davis was a member of the Black Panther Party. □

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational-system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.